5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva

581 account, the meeting ruled that the cause of the marriage breakdown was the
586 husband's refusal to allow her to enter his garden. The attempted seduction, the
627 adultery, the escapades to Port Moresby, the violent words and acts that had characterised the marriage over the years were all declared to be blameworthy, but the most serious of the offences was the husband's act in denying his wife entry to the taro garden. This signified the breaking off of the basic exchange relation in a marriage whereby the man clears the garden, the wife harvests the taro, and cooks it, and the husband and wife both eat it. I was told that when this exchange relation is broken, the marriage itself breaks down.

Why it is the taro garden where exchange between husband and wife is so important will be discussed in Chapter VI. I am concerned here to show that in tracing the cause of a marriage breakdown, what the Orokaiva seem to be looking for is evidence of a breakdown in the area of gift exchange. As long as the husband still gives his wife taro, there may be considerable difficulties between them, but these are not *defined* as a breakdown in Orokaiva culture unless there is a breakdown in Obligatory exchange.

578 Another such case was that of a man who took sides in a quarrel between his
837 brother and another man who had been trying to rape, i.e. seduce by force, that
571 brother's wife. I thought that the village generally would be on the brother's side, as rape is disapproved of, but almost everyone took the side of the rapist and the man who took the side of his brother had to leave the village. The man who was expelled had a long history of trouble making. During my stay he had been involved in every fight except those between husbands and wives. He had also committed rape, his victim being a prohibited partner under the incest rules. His trouble was, so I was told, that no woman wanted him. I asked my informants why this was. The reason was that he had been married previously, he had maltreated his wife and she had run away. Now nobody would help him.

[583] And why would nobody help him? Well, brideprice had been paid for his first
[581] wife; it had been lost through his fault, and that was the 'real' reason why nobody supported him in the quarrel. Here again we notice that the cause of the trouble was the [illegible]kdown of an exchange cycle. When a man has been helped in paying brideprice he has an obligation towards his clansmen to hold his wife, raise a family and be a support for the others. He must manage the relationship with his own affines properly and make them into valuable exchange partners.

829 In both instances a basic exchange cycle had been broken and that was
431 thought to constitute the essence of the relationship. In the first case this was the
436 exchange between man and woman in making their own contributions and deriving their own benefits in the taro garden – a cycle of exchange which parallels the cultivation cycle of the taro itself. In the second case it was the exchange between clansmen which is complete only when the man who received the brideprice provides recruits for the clan, as well as a steady new affinal alliance. It does not concern me here whether psychologists would, in such cases, accept the exchange breakdown as the real cause of the social breakdown; I have illustrated that the Orokaiva view social breakdowns in this manner.

245 but would estimate plantings to be about 4,000 trees, occupying
177 an area of eight acres.

Among resources which produce significant current income in
311 Sivepe and Inonda, two other types must be briefly mentioned here, though they must be more fully discussed elsewhere. Income is
434 earned by men who are normally resident in the villages. When
167 these men are married and living away from the village with their families, they provide support to the home people on critical occasions and also, when villagers pay visits to them. I briefly met a few Sivepe men who settled in Port Moresby and these men were called upon, during the year of my study, to pay several plane fares and feed several men who tried their luck in looking for jobs in Port Moresby.

Secondly, men who return to the village after outside
167 employment are bringing savings into the village which forms a
464 significant source of revenue. Such savings often form part of the bride-wealth paid by clansmen and it is thus the affines who spend
[583] it. During the year, four Sivepe men went to Port Moresby for employment and three returned; one Sivepe man took up a job on a plantation for awhile, largely to pay overdue taxes; a number of
434 men ordinarily working outside came home for short visits. Probably
837 the most regular income is derived from absentees when the men go out to work by themselves, leaving their wives and children behind
613 in the village. Six such split families existed in Sivepe; in every case, regular envelopes containing money were posted to the wife. In the cases I investigated, eight to ten envelopes arrived in a year, each containing $10 and sometimes $20. These envelopes represent a considerable percentage of village income. As long as the money keeps coming, a man knows that his relations will closely watch his wife and will carry out obligations towards his affines; thus, his wife will be kept under strong moral constraint from all sides. It would be cynical to explain the generosity with which men maintain their wives wholly by such motives, but the Orokaiva do regard "looking after" the wives of absentees as a valuable service and the envelopes are thus a form of repayment. "Looking after" the wife and children, indeed, comprises a wide range of services which must be performed by men of the lineage and which are a reasonable charge against the income of a wage earner. As most places of employment in Papua-New Guinea do not provide for married accommodation, we may regard villagers and migrants as engaged in a joint economic enterprise in which each group performs services and obtains benefits.

464 At the time of the eruption several Sivepe men were working on plantations; today, Sivepe people are interested only in the better-paid town jobs, mostly in Port Moresby. In Inonda, however, two men often take up short spells of plantation work while a third, trained as a driver by an anthropologist, has a regular government job in Popondetta.